

NGF *news*

NATIONAL
GAY
FEDERATION

AUGUST • SEPTEMBER '85

ISSN 0790-4592

President's Bit . . .

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The Congress and its string of social events (who will ever forget the music night in Slattery's or everyone waltzing through the cinema during the Rocky Horror Picture Show?) were an unqualified success and it's only appropriate that I extend the Administrative Council's gratitude to all involved in the Congress, especially the people who opened their homes for a week - in some cases even longer - and played superb host. Keep that smile on for the rest of Summer, you deserve it!

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We were stung, however, by the Government and Irish youth organisations. It seems we put them "in the shits" by inviting to the Opening Reception the likes of George Bermingham, Minister of State for Youth Affairs, the National Youth Council of Ireland, the Irish Committee of International Youth Year etc., and they responded graciously - George apart who managed a bit of an excuse - by snubbing us.

This is the official recognition we got for making the most significant Irish contribution to International Youth Year. A nono. And the last few weeks have seen a characteristic conspiracy of silence on this issue by people in the media and political life.

It's at times like this I feel I want to scream "yes, we need a ghetto, if they are going to continue to ignore us".

However, the Youth Group and its parent organisation are determined to carry the significance and success of the Youth Congress with us. (George, watch out for the Council of Europe Youth Ministers' Meeting next December!).

It has signalled a new lease of life in the NGF and the Hirschfeld Centre, politically, socially and culturally.

And I'd like you, members and supporters, to share in this refreshing vital feeling now gripping us.

Michael Bergin, NGF's new General Secretary, has outlined recent developments in the Administrative Council. Check them out. Pass on this newsletter to your friends and family and if you're one of those who only use Flikkers Disco then check out what's happening in the Hirschfeld Centre at other times.

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Pink kisses,

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PRESIDENT
Administrative Council

General Secretary's Report July 1985

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Seamus Dunne	Political & Campaigning Asst. Gen. Sec.
Johnny	Membership
Pat Mc Carville	Provincial Activities
Tommy Cooper	Social Co-ordinator
Tony O'Shea	No Brief.
Edmund Lynch	No Brief.
Jim Treanor	No Brief.

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A major programme of work is now underway by G.H.A., and my primary aim at the moment is to request more and more of you to come forward and help with the work of G.H.A. There is a lot of rewarding hard work to be done. Elsewhere in this newsletter you will find full details of a Conference to be held on the 17th/18th August in Trinity College. Please be there in numbers, concerned numbers. There will be representatives of the Terence Higgins Trust in England there and now it is imperative that they go back in the full knowledge that we in Ireland are awake and concerned of the implications which an outbreak of the A.I.D.S. syndrome can have on us all.

Mick Quinlan is employed for G.H.A., under the Social Employment Scheme of the National Manpower Service, an historic endeavour achieved. Contact Mick any day in the Hirschfeld Centre between 11.00am-4pm or telephone 710939 to offer help in any way.

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I want to see many changes in the running of the Centre and the National Gay Federation and I hope to be able to list these out for you in the next Newsletter. Some or all may be contentious. I hope you will reply to me here and let me know if you agree or disagree with them.

This organisation is your organisation. Make it work of you.

Here's to an eventful year !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Michael.

DUBLIN'S ONLY GAY DISCO

Friday, Saturday open
11.30 p.m. Sunday
open 10.00 p.m.
Wednesday: The Cage
open 11.30 p.m.
(Members and Guests from
£2
(Unemployed/Student rate
Fri/Sun £1.50



HIRSCHFELD GAY
COMMUNITY CENTRE,
10 FOWNES ST.,
DUBLIN 2. TEL. 710939

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Some work to date

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FUNDING

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The Trustee Savings Bank,
70 Grafton Street,
Dublin 2.

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A Special Invitation by Patrick McCarville

I am at present compiling a Diary of Provincial Activities for the next year and I am inviting suggestions and ideas from anybody living in the Provinces. A meeting is at present being planned for Belfast and anybody living in the border areas will be invited to attend. However, large areas of the country still remain unexplored e.g.

The North West: Sligo, Donegal, Mayo, Leitrim, Roscommon etc.
The North East: Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan.
The Midlands: Longford, Westmeath, Laois, Offaly etc.
The South East: Wexford, Carlow etc.

I would be very happy to hear from anyone living in these or any other regions who might have something to say on this subject.

I would also like to take this opportunity to invite people from rural areas who might happen to be in Dublin for the weekend, or who would be prepared to come to Dublin on a particular Saturday, to meet me in the Hirschfeld Gay Community Centre. If enough people expressed an interest in this, meetings would be arranged. This would be an opportunity to meet people from your own area or from other areas as well. If you wish to do this or have ideas of your own, then please contact me. I will be very happy to accomodate.

Patrick Mc Carville,
Provincial Activities,
Hirschfeld Gay Community Centre,
10 Fownes Street, Upper,
Dublin 2.

2nd INTERNATIONAL GAY YOUTH CONGRESS



7th Annual Conference of the International Gay Association



Photography: Arne, Fritt from Oslo

Delegates and observers from 18 nations met for the 7th Annual Conference of the International Gay Association in Toronto, Canada, 30th June — 6th July, to discuss the global oppression of lesbians and gay men.

"Smashing Borders and Opening Spaces" was the theme of the first international lesbian and gay men's conference held in Canada. Sharp divisions arose over whether IGA should concentrate solely on gay issues or broaden its mandate to condemn specific human rights violations such as the United States intervention in Central America or racial oppression in South Africa.

However, a broad general statement supporting 3rd World liberation movements which defend lesbian and gay men's issues and rights was passed. The conference also strongly supported involving more 3rd world people and strengthening the presence of women in the IGA. The conference adopted a declaration condemning oppression of lesbians and gay men occurring around the world such as:

- the Salvation Army-led campaign in New Zealand calling for the preservation of the seven-year prison penalty for male homosexual acts;
- the police harassment and murder of lesbians and gay men in Peru and other Latin American nations;
- the Brazilian newspaper *A Tarde's* public demand for the extermination of lesbians and gays as a remedy for AIDS;
- the deportation of gays from Australia;
- the discriminatory immigration laws existing in many nations throughout the world;
- the video surveillance and entrapment of hundreds of men

for consensual homosexual acts in Canadian washrooms;

- the newly instituted prohibition of the public sale of the gay liberation magazine *Link Skakel* in South Africa;
- the threat of compulsory registration or quarantine measures aimed at lesbians and gay men because of the AIDS-related virus, instead of providing badly needed funds for information and adequate medical support services;
- the global right-wing publicity campaign blaming gays for the spreading of AIDS;
- the refusal of schools to provide information, even in this the International Year of Youth, correcting the total lack or the negative picture of homosexuality in sex education;
- the continuing purges of lesbians and gay men in the military;
- the dismissal of lesbians and gay men from their employment;
- the failure of world-wide human rights organisations such as Amnesty International to adopt and defend lesbians and gay men imprisoned because of discriminatory legislation;
- the refusal of the world's local and national governments, with few exceptions, to safeguard the human rights of their lesbian and gay male citizens;
- the neglect of United Nations organisations to include lesbians and gay men in UN human rights documents.

A strongly worded letter was sent to the organisers of the Gay Games '86 on behalf of the member organisations of the IGA requesting the withdrawal of the invitation to an official South African team to participate in the Gay Games '86. If the request is denied it is proposed that member organisations of the International Gay Association will boycott the games.

Protest telegrams and letters were sent to a long list of local and national governments and international organisations, demanding respect for lesbian and gay human rights.

For the first time in the IGA's 7-year history, a secretariat has been moved out of the largely North European-dominated organisations. The IGA's Action Secretariat is now located in Montreal, Canada.

Also for the first time, a Japanese delegate addressed an IGA conference, announcing the scheduling of the first regional IGA Asian meeting, in Tokyo, in 1986. Peruvian lesbian and gay men's organisations joined the IGA for the first time, with their delegates announcing the first regional IGA meeting in Latin America, in Lima in 1987.

New information pools were set up on lesbian and gay men in the military and gay Asians.

Another first during the conference and in the movement's history, was a panel discussion consisting of three openly lesbian and gay members of Parliament — from Norway, West Germany and The Netherlands moderated by a pro-gay member of the Canadian Parliament.

The IGA conference was held at the same time as an international conference on lesbian and gay history, "Sex and the State" also at the University of Toronto. Delegates from both conferences attended a long series of lectures, workshops, slide shows, films, theatre performances and cultural events.

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Lesbians and gay men attending the conference came from Canada, United States, Peru, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, Scotland, France, Belgium, West Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Japan, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Venezuela.

Report Edmund Lynch.

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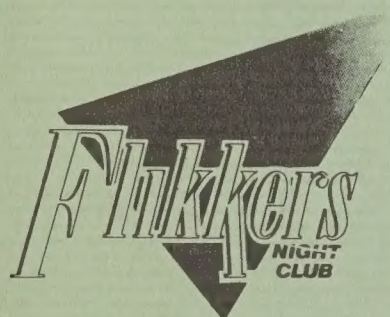
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Report Edmund Lynch.

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Layout & Design - Our Magazine

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★ ★ In Memory ★ ★

John L. Stoneroad III

John L. Stoneroad III, U.S. Naval Senior Chief Petty Officer, died in May 1986.

Born in Pawnee, Oklahoma in March 1942, Stoneroad made his home in Alameda, California with his wife and three children. Serving 27 years of Naval service he received numerous awards and citations for his three tours in Viet Nam and Lebanon.

Buried with full military honors in Red Rock, Oklahoma, he is survived by his wife, children, father, stepmother, and nine brothers and sisters. He will be missed.

Juan Valenzuela

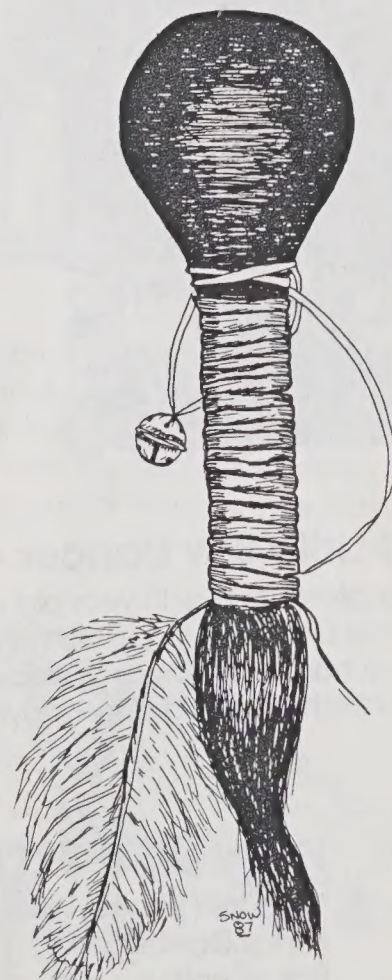
A senior lecturer in Stanford's drama department, Juan Valenzuela had a very special interest in dance. A Yaqui Indian, he was very involved in the Indian community where he delighted in producing special events to the campus. His sudden death last fall created a great emptiness. We will miss him.

Bill Wapepah

A Sauk and Fox Indian originally from Oklahoma, Bill Wapepah spent the majority of his life being a "leading character" in the Bay Area Indian community. He did so very much for our people—especially our children—we will miss him.

List of Powwow Committees:

Coordinators:	Lesley Jackson, <i>Crow</i> Justin Jones, <i>Navajo</i>
Registration:	Tamsen Holm, <i>Navajo</i> Lesley Jackson, <i>Crow</i>
Booths:	Maxine Alex, <i>Navajo</i>
Security	Tamsen Holm, <i>Navajo</i> Wade Blackmon, <i>Cupeno</i> Mobs of SAIO and other volunteers
Program:	William McCabe, <i>Navajo</i> Tracey LeBeau, <i>Lakota</i> Stephen Etsitty, <i>Navajo</i>
Publicity:	Tracey LeBeau, <i>Lakota</i>
Finance:	Tamsen Holm, <i>Navajo</i> Chris Irwin, <i>Navajo/Hidatsa</i> Wade Blackmon, <i>Cupeno</i>
Public Address and Set-Up:	Justin Jones, <i>Navajo</i> Allen Strain
Volunteer Recruiters:	Nancy Sandoval, <i>Pascua-Yaqui</i> Chris Irwin, <i>Navajo</i>
Additional Help:	Marlene Jones, <i>Mono</i> Todd Michael, <i>Delaware</i> Patty Davis Joey Thomas, <i>Haulupai/Hidatsa</i>



Head Staff



Head Man Dancer - Glen Ahhaitty

Glen Ahhaitty is a Kowa/Commanche/Cherokee currently living in Hacienda Heights, California. Glen is 23 years old and a Southern Straight Dancer as well as a singer with the Red Tipi Descendants drum group. Their family drum group was named after his father's great-great grandfather, Red Tipi, a noted Kiowa leader. Glen is enrolled at Mt. San Antonio Junior College in Walnut, California and plans to transfer to Claremont McKenna College to major in Economics and Accounting.



Head Woman Dancer - Betty Jo Denny

Betty Jo Denny is a Chippewa/Cree Fancy Dancer from the Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana. Betty Jo lives in Box Elder, Montana and graduated from Rocky Boy Tribal High School in 1985. Betty Jo has been dancing for seven years and was the '85-'86 Powwow Princess for Fort Belknap.



Head Little Boy Dancer - Jared Eaglesmith

Jared Eaglesmith is a 13 year old member of the Creek and Shawnee tribes of Oklahoma. Jared is a Traditional Dancer living in San Anselmo, California. He was given the name "Chebon Aio" (Hawk Boy) and has been dancing since 1975 where he continues his dedication to the traditional style of his grandfathers. Jared also enjoys traditional singing as well as athletics and his schoolwork.

Head Little Girl Dancer - Deiadre (Babes) Waterhouse

Deiadre (Babes) Waterhouse is an 8 year old member of the Navajo and Sioux tribes. Babes is a Fancy Dancer and an honor roll student in the Accelerated Program at Tuba City Primary School. Babes enjoys bead work, music and gymnastics and has lived in the Bay Area. Babes recognizes the eagle feather as being "very sacred" to her and her ancestors, thus, her dancing is "dedicated to her ancestors and her people."



Master of Ceremonies Dennis Bowen, Sr.

Dennis Bowen, Sr. is a Seneca from the Allegany Seneca Reservation in New York and a member of the Bear Clan. Dennis is a seasoned announcer, announcing powwows throughout the southwest

during the year. His community involvement includes announcing basketball tournaments and school sports events. He is involved with helping young people and their families in the Western Navajo Agency and is the program Director for the Tuba City Adolescent Substance Abuse Prevention Program for the Navajo Nation. This is his third year announcing for the Stanford Powwow.

Head Drums: Northern Host Drum Eagle Whistle Singers

Originally a group organized in 1973-74 at Mandaree High School in Mandaree, North Dakota, this local group included singers whose ages ranged from 12-19 years old. The Eagle Whistles soon expanded, both in traveling range and singing, and now consists of several different tribal members including members from the Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikara, Cree, Cheyenne, Sioux and Blood. The group has won first at the International United Tribes Powwow in 1984 and has traveled from coast to coast. Many of the members come from a long line of singers and keep their tradition alive by continuing to sing and respect the spirit of the drum. Wade Baker, the drums lead singer, said "We Indians need much from each other, not only in tradition, but in the educational field as well. We, as members of the (drum) group, treasure the friendship we have. (Singing) is a value in our tradition that we keep alive not from our past but for our future."

Southern Host Drum Black Star Singers

The Black Star Singers are from Concho, Oklahoma where they formed their drum in 1981. The Singers represent the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes of Oklahoma and are a recognized group from Texas to Montana. The drum initially began as gourd singers and dancers. There are eight singers with the drum group and Lavern Little Calf, who is also from Oklahoma, is their Head Singer. SAIO extends our sincere "Thank You!" to the Black Star Singers for agreeing to serve as our Southern Host Drum at such late notice because the Grey Horse Singers could not appear.



Arena Director Leon Chief Elk

This year's arena director, Leon Chief Elk is a Blackfeet/Assiniboine Traditional Dancer now living in Santa Cruz. Leon is from the Fort Belknap Reservation in Montana. He is a Marine Corp Veteran and currently working for IBM. Leon's educational background

includes an Associate of Science Degree in Biology from Dawson College as well as a certificate from the Electronics program at San Jose City College. Leon's interests include photography, running, attending AA meetings, being involved with the Four Winds Lodge Association in San Jose and occasionally being a "couch potato" in front of the TV with the remote control. Leon's primary ambition is, "To live a sober life, one day at a time."



Pictured left to right, standing: Bill Runs Above, Alex Gwynn, Charles Eagle Speaker, Jim Buffalo Calf, Ron Smith, Mike Driver and Wade Baker, Lead Singer. Seated: Dean Fox and Junior Bears Tail. Not shown: Casey Fox, Junior Thunder Hawk and Ross Wise Spirit.



Description of Dancing Styles

Gourd Dancing

Gourd dancing is popular mainly with the southern tribes. The dancers are members of certain gourd societies or clans and must go through a process of initiation to become members. Gourd dancers can be identified by the usually red or navy blue cloth they wear around their necks that drapes down to their knees. They also hold a gourd and an eagle feather fan in their hands. These dancers are not judged or involved in contesting.

Women's Fancy Shawl — Northern Shawl and Southern Fancy

Women's Fancy Shawl is universal. These women dance with shawls draped over their shoulders and use these shawls in the movement of the dance. The judging of women's shawl is based on the fluidity of movement by the women and their footwork.

Men's Fancy

Men's Northern Grassdance — Grassdancing began as a social, religious and healing dance which gained significance and popularity when the buffalo vanished from the plains. Grassdancers can be easily recognized by their outfit which consists uniquely of yarn. Grassdancers are judged on their footwork and traditional movements.

Men's Northern Fancy — Their outfits consist of two bustles — one worn on the back and the other worn below this. They are judged by their fancy and very fast footwork. Northern Fancy Dancers are judged more on their ability to move fluidly.

Men's Southern Fancy — Men's Southern Fancy Dancers' outfits are almost identical to the Northern dancers. These Southern dancers are judged more on their fancy footwork and originality.

Women's Traditional

The eminence of women in Native society relates to and includes her role as the giver of life, keeper of home and family, the decision-maker and the head of the household. This dance is one of honor and spectators stand in respect. Usually synonymous with "traditional buckskin," these women usually wear bone breastplates with the beaded buckskin dresses or red or navy blue wool dresses with shells draping from them.

Northern Traditional — Northern Traditional Dancers stay in one place while they dance and "scrub" the ground with their feet.

Southern Traditional — Southern Traditional women dancers usually move clockwise around the drum or center of the dancing area.

Men's Traditional

In the early days, the Men's Traditional played a major role in tribal dances of the Plains. When the best warriors returned home, they showed their people how they accomplished their feats of bravery by acting them out through dance.

Northern Traditional — Men's Northern Traditional can be identified by the single bustle of eagle feathers they wear and their bone breastplate.

Southern Straight — Southern Straight Dancers can be identified by their outfit as well. They do not wear bustles and wear an otter hide that trails down their back.

Examiner
10/15/91

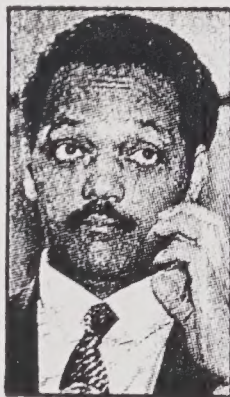
MATIER & ROSS THE INSIDERS

Politics intrudes at gay rally

LOVEFEST SLUGFEST: Sunday's anti-gay-bashing rally in the Castro featuring the Rev. **Jesse Jackson** was intended to bring a message of hope and solidarity, but it nearly erupted into a mayoral slugfest.

It all began when **Pam David**, a 1988 Jackson presidential delegate and member of the mayor's Office of Community Development, helped arrange for Jackson to appear at the rally. The event was sponsored by the Community United Against Violence, and it came only days after **Gov. Wilson** vetoed a gay rights bill and set off a riot at the State Building.

Jackson agreed to show up at the rally on the condition that the event not be turned into a campaign event for any of the mayoral candidates.



Jackson

Mayor Agnos, however, was invited in his official capacity to make some introductory remarks. And his name was prominently featured, along with Jackson's, on an official CUAV flyer circulated in the gay community.

That infuriated lesbian activist **Jean Harris**, a campaign organizer for Supervisor **Angela Alioto**. Harris wanted Alioto included as a speaker. She hit the phone and told Jackson backer **Mabel Teng** that she couldn't be responsible for the crowd if Angela was not included.

Fearing violence, CUAV officials relented, and Alioto — along with candidates Assessor **Richard Hongisto** and **Gloria LaRiva** — all got to make brief speeches. But Alioto's campaign went a step further — putting out a nearly identical flyer to CUAV's original, only substituting Alioto's name in place of Agnos as a featured speaker. The copy-cat flyer also deleted any reference to CUAV.

CUAV executive director **Barbara Cameron**, an Agnos supporter, called the Alioto cam-

him. "This was a setup for Art's campaign," Harris said.

Footnote: Both Jackson and Agnos had their cars hit with eggs when they were speaking.

FAMILY SPLITS: Covering their bets, or family splits? Whatever the case, some of The City's most prominent families are at odds over who should be the next mayor.

Take the Coppolas, for example.

Movie director **Francis Ford Coppola** is backing **Angela Alioto** while his brother, S.F. State Professor **August Coppola** has thrown his lot with **Mayor Agnos**.

Francis is hosting a \$500-a-head birthday bash for **Alioto** at his Napa Valley estate this weekend. The guest list includes **Ed-die Fisher**, **Howard Cosell**, **Wilkes Bashford**, **Jerry Brown** and **Melvin Belli**.

August, a member of the S.F. Film Commission, was spotted at an Agnos fund-raiser in Hillsborough.

The Hillsborough do, which netted more than \$60,000, was thrown by **Chris Mouroufas** and Board of Permit Appeals appointee **Victor Makras**. Agnos is a regular guest at the Mouroufas home — it's there that he goes to touch up his tan.

The Coppolas aren't the only ones covering their bets in the race. Another film commissioner, **Gretchen** (as in daughter-in-law of Mel) **Belli**, is backing Agnos while husband **Caesar Belli** and father-in-law are for Alioto.

AIR JORDAN: Former Police Chief and mayoral candidate **Frank Jordan** has finally launched a full-force attack on incumbent **Mayor Agnos**.

Punch One: Television. Jordan has put together a 30-second TV spot that features a slow-motion replay of gay rioters smashing the doors at the old State Building. The spot blasts Agnos, saying his "anything goes" philosophy is destroying San Francisco.

Punch Two: A mail piece bearing a photo of Jordan getting roughed up on the night the old State Building was trashed. The caption: "You can push him, but you can't push him around."

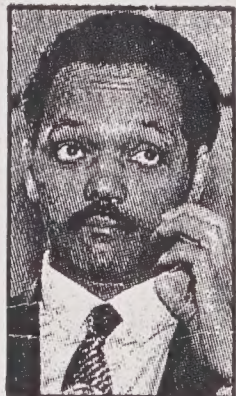
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CUAV executive director **Barbara Cameron**, an Agnos supporter, called the Alioto campaign tactics "very mean spirited. . . . I don't think there is any elected office that is worth the war that has transpired during this campaign."

But Alioto supporters blamed the mayor, saying his people unfairly used Jackson and CUAV to put on a campaign event for

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Punch Three: The Hink. Jordan campaign manager **Jack Davis** finally got his good buddy and former Examiner columnist **Warren Hinckle** to come across with a series of anti-Agnos articles in the San Francisco Independent. Will the articles be fair? Of course — after all, Davis is acting as Hinckle's personal fact-checker.

— **By Phillip Matier and Andrew Ross**

The Insiders appear Monday and Thursday in the Examiner.

JACKSON PREACHES NON-VIOLENCE

by David M. Lowe

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, warning that violence diverts attention from the real issues, keynoted a rally against violence held in the Castro District last Sunday.

The rally, which drew an estimated 2,500 people, was sponsored by Community United Against Violence (CUAV) in response to the violent outburst by some members of the gay community during the AB 101 protest at the State Building.

CUAV's Director Barbara Cameron also challenged the community to return to a position of political integrity. "The war must stop!" urged Cameron. "The travesty of the AB 101 demonstration was not the violence against the building, but the violence between members of our community."

Jackson, in an exclusive interview with the *Sentinel*, specifically addressed the violence and vandalism during the AB 101 protest at the State Building.

"There is a difference between civil disobedience and violence," Jackson stated. "Civil disobedience is when you consciously object to an unjust law and put your body on the line. . . and you're willing to suffer the consequences of your choice including going to jail willingly."

"Acts of violence are where you destroy people or property," Jackson further defined. "Violence tends to beget violence and diverts attention away from the issue of substance," the civil rights leader cautioned. "You end up discussing the strategy of violence rather than the violation of rights taking place," contended Jackson.

continued on page 30

Thomas confirmed: the community reacts

by Michael Colbruno

Angry protests erupted outside of freshman Senator John Seymour's offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles after he joined 51 other Senators in confirming Clarence Thomas to the United States Supreme Court.

Thomas had been accused of sexually harassing Anita Hill while they worked together at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Over three-hundred people showed up at the San Francisco demonstration and double that many at his Westwood office in Southern California.

Chanting and carrying signs decrying the Senate's "Boys' Club," the protesters marched down Market Street to the Federal Building.

Addressing the crowd, San Francisco Supervisor Carole Midgen called the vote "an insult to the experience of millions of women."

Reaction from the local gay and lesbian community was one of outrage and shock. Still reeling from the veto of the gay rights bill by Gov. Wilson, many saw Seymour's vote as yet another betrayal by supposedly moderate Republicans on civil rights issues.

Longtime lesbian activist Del Martin said, "I'm glad people are hounding Wilson everywhere he goes. We need to be doing that with Seymour. Seymour doesn't know beans about sexual harassment. We need to remember that he voted against the Civil Rights Act."

Martin added that the vote shows the need for more women to be elected to the Senate.

Californians will have the historic opportunity to elect two women to the U.S. Senate next November. Former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein will be the likely challenger to John Seymour and

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JACKSON

continued from page 1

Jackson acknowledged that the issues we confront often stirs us to anger, but that we must remain vigilant to the cause of non-violent direct action. "Those who would dare fight for social justice must have the discipline to keep the focus on the principle, not on the strategy," schooled the master of non-violent civil disobedience.

In address the issues to the colorful crowd gathered at 18th and Castro, Jackson acknowledged, "Sometimes you get angry because the burden is heavy, the abuse is great and you feel at the end of your rope."

Characterizing Governor Wilson's veto of AB 101 as equal to the actions of former Alabama Governor George Wallace during the civil rights movement of the '60s, Jackson cautioned our community to guard against misusing our power and freedom, urging us to keep the focus on love and care for each other.

"Recycle your anger!", Jackson said. "Recycle your anger and vote... build coalitions... participate in economic boycotts and recall those who can't see, hear or feel your anger."

In a strong speech to members of the lesbian and gay community, CUAV's Cameron contended "there is



PHOTO BY MARC GELLER

Rev. Jesse Jackson met with thunderous applause during his walk down Castro St.

no elected office or appointed office in this town that is worth forsaking our humanity, our compassion, our decency and morality."

Referring to the current state of warring factions seeking power through the mayoral race or arguing over issues, Cameron called for a return to integrity.

"That means we do not intimidate each other," she said. "It means we do not threaten each other. It means we don't slander, defame or impugn

one another. It means we do not vandalize each others homes. It means we do not try to get people fired from their jobs. It means we do not threaten the funding of lesbian/gay agencies. It means we do not beat each other up. It means as civilians we do not turn our people into the police or ask people to incriminate themselves."

Finally Cameron asked the question, "What's so fearful and frightening about choosing to work on issues and cam-

paigns without being malicious to one another?"

Cameron and CUAV hosted the rally in hopes that they would prevent future CUAV clients from being those who had been attacked by their own community.

During the rally eggs were thrown at Mayor Agnos and Rev. Jackson's automobiles. Agnos campaign spokesman Joe van Es characterized Jackson's response to the action as being "a little ticked off."

Jesse Jackson Critical of Governor's Veto

(Sacramento - AP) The Rev. Jesse Jackson on Saturday condemned Gov. Pete Wilson's veto of a bill protecting homosexuals from job discrimination, saying the Republican governor's actions was a "disregard for humanity."

Jackson, appearing at a gathering of 500 members of the Black American Political Association of California, said Wilson's veto "was insensitive and a narrow view... all people cannot be narrow, elite, rich and Republican."

Jackson said he chose to address a gay-rights rally in San Francisco "to affirm their humanity. We must make room in America for all its people."

Jackson, a Democrat, also said he would announce in November whether he would seek the Democratic presidential nomination next year.

Jackson was the principal speaker at the convention of BAPAC, an organization founded by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. The group also planned to hold a panel discussion of Democratic U.S. Senate hopefuls, including Controller Gray Davis, Rep. Barbara Boxer and Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy.

Mayoral Politics Charged in Jackson Rally

by Dennis Conkin

A former community organizer for Community United Against Violence has charged that the agency's executive director thrust the agency into the mayor's race in a blatant and unethical display of partisan politics and may have seriously damaged the agency's reputation.

The charges were made because of the way CUAV handled the Oct. 13 appearance of Jesse Jackson in the Castro District.

"I'm not a lawyer and I can't talk about the legal particulars of this case, but morally and ethically, Community United Against Violence cannot be instrumental in the mayor's race. What we were initially presented with was a political rally sponsored by CUAV. It's outrageous, it's against the community's interest, and it's wrong," Lester Olmstead-Rose, now an aide to the Angela Alioto for Mayor Campaign, told the *Bay Area Reporter*.

"I don't feel the agency is involved in the partisan politics of the mayoral campaign," said Barbara Cameron, CUAV's executive director. "I have endorsed the mayor. I don't work on the

The Rev. Jesse Jackson urges non-violence at a Castro Street rally.
Story, page 2.

campaign. I don't hand out fliers at 18th and Castro. I'm not a precinct worker. I don't work on the phone banks. I don't feel like I am a political hack. I feel like CUAV had the opportunity to address issues on violence with Rev. Jackson."

Cameron was a Jackson delegate during the 1988 presidential campaign.

Olmstead-Rose raised questions about the flier circulated for the event.

"On the bottom of the flier, it says, 'Community United Against Violence.' Of the speakers, every one is an Agnos supporter with the exception of the No on K (an unnamed representative) and Laurie McBride of the LIFE Lobby. We heard about the event on Friday. I called Barbara and said, 'I'm not really happy with this because it sounds like you're promoting Art Agnos,'" he said.

Cameron told the *Bay Area Reporter* that Agnos was to speak in his capacity as mayor.

(Continued on page 24)



March on Sacramento

AB 101 Outrage Take

by Marghe Covino

SACRAMENTO — A crowd of about 7,000 lesbians and gay men stopped traffic several times during a protest of Gov. Pete Wilson's veto of AB 101, the gay rights bill, near the Capitol on Oct. 11, National Coming Out Day.

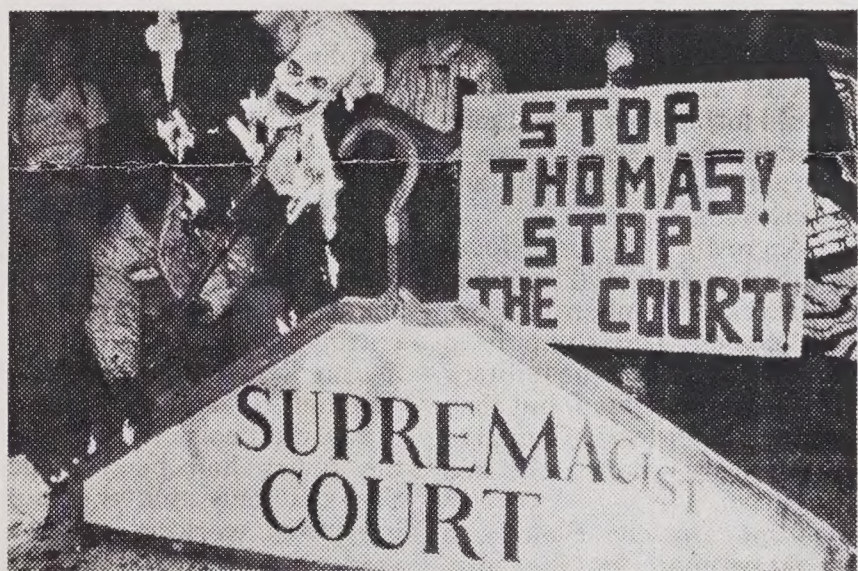
Officers in riot gear arrested at least three demonstrators in confrontations on the Capitol grounds on charges of interfering with an officer, State Police Cmdr. D.E. Williams said. A fourth person was arrested on suspicion of assault, a city police spokeswoman said.

Two officers suffered minor injuries in clashes with protesters. One strained his shoulder while struggling with a demonstrator, and another

(Continued on page 14)



Protesters clash with police: Darlene/PhotoGraphic after being sprayed with



Bad News

Demonstrators protest the confirmation of Clarence Thomas at Sen. John Seymour's office Oct. 15. Seymour voted aye.

(Photo: Jane Cleland)

2 Face Felony Charge In Sept. 30 Riot

by Dennis Conkin

California State Police have arrested two individuals on charges stemming from the Sept. 30 attack on the McAllister Street State Building.

John Backstrom, 24, was arrested Oct. 10 at his Oakland residence and charged with felony arson, according to CSP Detective James Lear. He was booked at the Oakland City Jail on a \$20,000 warrant, but later posted bail.

Michael Haynes, 24, known as Ronald Smith, arrested in West Hollywood where he was in custody on other charges. He is charged with felony assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer.

During the incident, following an otherwise peaceful rally and march from the city by about 8,000 demonstrators in protest of the veto of AB 101 by Gov. Pete Wilson, the old State Building was

(Continued on page 2)

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Jesse Jackson addresses crowd at 18th and Castro.

(Photo: Jane Cleland)

Castro Street Rally

Jackson Urges Anti-Violence

by Ben Carlson

The Rev. Jesse Jackson urged the lesbian and gay community to "recycle your anger" at an anti-violence rally organized by Community United Against Violence at 18th and Castro streets on Oct. 13.

Jackson and local leaders spoke out against the violence inflicted on lesbian and gay people from both without and within the community and urged listeners to resist the urge to violence.

Warm weather and the momentum of the hectic and passionate past few weeks infused the crowd of about 1,500 with energy and even, at moments, the spirit of solidarity, but scattered hisses at the more pointed criticism of the violence of recent protests against Gov. Pete Wilson's veto of AB 101 revealed continuing divisions in the community.

The rally began with songs performed by the Glide Memorial Church Choir and brief speeches by mayoral candidates Supervisor Angela Alioto, Assessor Richard Hongisto and Gloria La Riva, San Francisco Housing Authority Affirmative Action Officer Brandy Moore, Douglas Yaranon of the Gay Asian Pacific Alliance, and Community College Board member Mabel Teng.

Jackson also paid a brief visit to the Names Project on Market Street.

At the Names Project,



Cleve Jones (right) and Jackson head into the Names Project on Market Street.

(Photo: Nancy Boutillier)

founder Cleve Jones showed Jackson an AIDS quilt panel from Uganda and invited him to attend the display of the entire quilt, including panels from all over the world, on the Mall in Washington, D.C., on Columbus Day weekend in October 1992.

During the short walk from the Names Project to the rally, Jackson shared his thoughts on Wilson's veto of AB 101 with the *Bay Area Reporter*.

"It was an act of violence," he said. "It was disregard for the humanity of a group of American people who should be afforded equal protection under the law. I remember in

the '60s when (Alabama Gov.) George Wallace took a position against our civil rights, mean-spirited people seized upon the governor's words and engaged in acts of violence because the governor had created the climate for it. So when Gov. Wilson makes a decision to take an anti-human rights position, it just exposes gays and lesbians to inhuman abuse and violence."

Jackson descended on the Castro dramatically in an entourage of Radical Faeries, assistants and admirers with Mayor Art Agnos and Cleve Jones by his side. School Board Vice President Tom

(Continued on page 24)

Opponents Vow to Quit

Canada to Allow Gays in Military

United Press International

OTTAWA — Homosexuals would be allowed to serve in the Canadian armed forces, despite the objections of a substantial number of service members, according to Canadian legislators and internal defense ministry documents obtained by United Press International.

Although the change in policy toward homosexuals has not been made public, the documents prepared by the Department of National Defense indicate that sexual orientation would no longer be considered an impediment to service in the Canadian Forces.

The documents, obtained Oct. 10, said the department would forbid only sexual misconduct that would have a disruptive effect on military operations.

According to the documents, a "substantial" number of service members oppose the change and some have threatened to quit the military if it is implemented, but they added that overall Canadian reaction was likely to be less negative.

Capt. Darlene Blakely, a spokeswoman for the ministry, said the material obtained by UPI consisted of "internal draft working documents."

Another spokeswoman, Lt.

Caroline Collard, said the policy was still under review.

"I can't confirm the policy is being changed," Collard said.

In Ottawa, an embarrassed Associate Defense Minister Mary Collins said speculation about an announcement permitting homosexuals to serve in the Canadian Forces was "premature," and she refused to say if a decision to change the policy had been made. She said only that the ministry was working on new guidelines on sexual activity.

In Washington, Pentagon sources said the agency had been informed of a potential policy change by Canadian

(Continued on page 27)

Jackson

(Continued from page 2)

Ammiano, Supervisor Roberta Achtenberg, Agnos and CUAV Executive Director Barbara Cameron preceded Jackson at the podium.

"You know what it means to have violence perpetrated again and again upon your community; we need your help today," Achtenberg said, addressing Jackson.

Agnos said, "We need to find a common voice in our struggle, and Jesse Jackson is that voice."

Cameron said that in her 18 years in San Francisco, she had "never seen anything as ugly as the way we've treated each other in 1991."

She drew a mixed response from the audience when she condemned the violent actions that accompanied

community protests over the veto of AB 101, but drew vigorous applause when she said, "We do not turn our own people in to the police," in reference to rumors of gay informants assisting police in identification of rioters.

"Wallace was not successful in Alabama in the '60s. Wilson will not be successful in California in the '90s," Jackson said to the crowd's frenzied delight. "Anger is energy, but if you do not properly use it, it becomes garbage. Don't incinerate your anger; recycle it and have power. There is power in disciplined, non-violent direct action."

Jackson stressed both non-violence and compassion throughout his half-hour speech. He also dipped into local politics by stating, "I support AB 101 as a matter of principle. I say no on K as a matter of principle."

Before leaving the podium, Jackson said, "If I run for the

White House, I need your support. If I don't run, you must draft me."

"Keep hope alive" and "run, Jesse, run," the crowd chanted back.

Jackson's stop in the Castro came near the conclusion of a two-day tour of the Bay Area that included visits with labor organizers, ministers, farmers and schoolchildren. His presence at the rally was secured through the efforts of Pam David of the mayor's Community Development Office, who was the national lesbian and gay community coordinator for Jackson's 1988 presidential campaign.

Melinda Paras, manager of the No on K campaign to save San Francisco's domestic partners law, concluded the rally with a request for volunteers to walk precincts as part of the campaign's "mass mobilization" on Oct. 19. ▼

Politics

(Continued from page 1)

Pam David, a member of Lesbian and Gay Voters for Art Agnos which had originally intended to sponsor the event until Jackson nixed the plan because he doesn't endorse local candidates, said that Ammiano and Achtenberg were Jackson supporters.

"Tom met him recently and agreed to fundraise for him, and Roberta was a very early supporter," she said. "CUAV's sponsorship of Rev. Jackson can only enhance the stature of the agency. If they sent out a fundraising appeal right now, I'm sure the re-

David, who works for Agnos in the Mayor's Office of Community Development, told the *Bay Area Reporter* that no campaign funds were spent on the fliers and that Jackson made the appearance at the rally without charge. He did make a fundraising pitch at the end of his remarks, however.

Joe van Es-Ballesteros, the gay and lesbian community coordinator for the Agnos mayoral campaign, also works as a half-time staffer at Community United Against Violence.

According to Ballesteros, he tried to reassure Olmstead-Rose that Agnos' presence was not an election pitch, but finally agreed to open up the

speaking for a couple minutes about the issues of violence against lesbians and gays and about non-violent civil disobedience.

Ballesteros said that he decided to open the event to Alioto, Hongisto and Gloria La Riva after Olmstead-Rose made threatening statements to him and implied that if Angela Alioto could not attend the rally that the campaign couldn't guarantee they could control Alioto supporters.

"I told him that he was beating me over the head with violent threats," Ballesteros told the *Bay Area Reporter*.

Olmstead-Rose denied the charges.

"There were no threats of

GLAAD Media Watch

Wiley on Wilson

Compiled by Ben Carlson

A "Wiley's View" editorial cartoon in the Oct. 3 issue of the *Examiner* depicted a herd of elephants (Republicans) in white hooded robes (Ku Klux Klan) emblazoned with American flags above the caption "At the Church of Latter Day Intolerance." One elephant holding a newspaper with the headline "Wilson Vetoes Gay Rights Bill" is saying, "See? I told you he's still one of the boys." Another elephant holds a sheet of music titled "Hymn No. 1: 'Shall We Gather at the White House.'"

The Oct. 3 issue also included an excellent column by Stephanie Salter titled "Nobody's Happy With Wilson Now." "You did the only thing a self-respecting politician could do," Salter wrote in a mocking address to Wilson. "You said, 'To hell with what's right; I'm going to protect my political hiney.'"

Write to the *Examiner*, 110 5th St., San Francisco, CA 94103.

'Chronicle'

The Sept. 30 *Chronicle* included an "Open Forum" editorial by Jerome J. Davis, a member of San Franciscans for Family Diversity, titled "Domestic Partners: Part of Single Garment of Destiny."

"The affirmation of gay and lesbian families, which the registration ordinance has provided, is but a part of recognizing the diversity which makes up

The Oct. 1 *Mercury News* included an editorial titled "Wrong on Gay Rights" that attacked on legal grounds Gov. Wilson's claimed reasons for vetoing AB 101. "Gays Reassess Strategy After Veto and Protest" by Miranda Ewell in the Oct. 4 issue provided a broad and thoughtful perspective on the diverse reactions and feelings among lesbians and gay men in California.

The *Merc's* overall coverage of recent events affecting our community has been good. Write to the *San Jose Mercury News*, 750 Ridder Park Drive, San Jose, CA 95190, tel. (408) 920-5000, fax (408) 288-8060.

'Reader's Digest'

The September *Reader's Digest* ridiculed an AIDS grant in a column titled "That's Outrageous." The column consisted of a compilation of alleged abuses of public funds.

Cited was a Centers for Disease Control grant to Black and White Men Together to promote AIDS awareness among gay and bisexual men of color. "Money to BWMT is considered an ethnic/racial minority grant. This bolsters homosexual efforts to give their sexual behavior the same kind of legal approval that minority groups have under anti-discrimination statutes," wrote Cal Thomas, from whose syndicated column the item was reprinted.

Outrageous? Yup. Write to The *Reader's Digest* Association Inc., Pleasantville, NY 10570.

teacher at O'Connor School and an active member of the Bay Area Network of Gay and Lesbian Educators. She reduced her teaching load last winter and joined Gogin as a part-time staff member at SSGLY.

Blinick has been particularly active in the development of a lesbian- and gay-sensitive curriculum. She has been busy designing lesson plans that range from exercises examining the power of name-calling to history packages on gay issues associated with the AIDS crisis.

have come to the schools "are doing quite well. Last year a support group formed, and Gogin expects that to happen again this year.

Recognizing the value of other programs in the city, he helps individuals find their way to other organizations, like LYRIC, an organization focused on offering recreational opportunities for gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth. "They need to get hooked with other students,"

Forgotten

(Continued from page 5)

County Human Relations Commissioner Allan Shore said, "We're trying to show that you can be trustworthy, loyal, obedient and a gay person."

The BSA's anti-gay policy came to light 10 years ago

ganized in this area. Mueller's mother Virginia Boyce Lind says of her father, "He didn't found the Boy Scouts for certain groups of boys. He founded it for all boys." She's proud of her son's willingness to speak out.

While Forgotten Scouts builds its case, additional momentum against the BSA's discriminatory policy is building elsewhere.

Some are diagnosed with AIDS after some unspecified date in the future.

Partners Bills Signed

Meanwhile, in four other actions, Gov. Edgar pleased the gay, lesbian and AIDS-impacted communities. He signed two domestic partnership bills and a pro-persons with AIDS bill, and he vetoed an anti-gay bill that targeted campus activists.

One of the partnership bills grants disabled persons and senior citizens who live in government-subsidized housing the right to register a roommate of their choosing with the county clerk. It will allow gay PWAs and gay/les-

comes quarters as well. The heterosexual former Eagle Scout with Boy Scout Troop 27 in San Mateo, circulated a petition at a reunion of the troop's former Eagle Scouts urging the BSA to drop its exclusion of gays. Two-thirds of the reunion's attendees signed the petition, Last said. Forgotten Scouts asks that those who have been involved to visit.

The campus measure targeted the gays and lesbians who are trying to remove the Reserve Officers' Training Corp from Illinois universities to punish the Department of Defense for its ban on homosexuals. Similar campaigns are under way at more than 100 colleges nationwide.

The bill would have mandated that Illinois colleges and universities "not bar ... any armed forces training program or organization operated under the authority of the U.S. government because the program or organization complies with ... policies of the U.S. government or any ... department thereof." ▼

the lesbian and gay community. Charges that lesbian and gay Agnos appointees on the Human Rights Commission and on his personal staff used the HRC in an attempt to slam Prop. K surfaced shortly before last year's election.

David, however, insisted that there were no dirty tricks, that no campaign funds were used in the event and that it was essential Jackson speak to the community about non-violent civil disobedience. She said Agnos alone of all the candidates appearing at the rally did not mention the mayor's race or make a campaign pitch. ▼

Politics

(Continued from page 24)

hint of violence. What he's upset about is that they got caught with their pants down using a non-profit agency to host a partisan political event. They blew it and we exposed them. The charge of violence even more seriously compounds their unethical behavior," he said.

The incident is not the first time that lesbian and gay supporters of Art Agnos have been hit with charges of manipulating agencies serving

HALLOWEEN

October 31, 1991 • 8:00 pm til Midnight

Volunteers Needed!

Safety & Healthcare Volunteers Please Call
CUAV 415/864-3112

All Volunteers MUST Attend One Training Session:

Monday, October 21, 6:30 pm at Women's Bldg., 3543 18th St.

Wednesday, October 23, 6:30 pm at MCC, 150 Eureka Street

Saturday, October 26, 12:30 pm at Women's Bldg., 3543 18th St.

Tuesday, October 29, 6:30 pm at MCC, 150 Eureka Street

Entertainers and Stage Volunteers Please Call
415/864-6722

Women and People Of Color Encouraged to Participate
As Entertainers, Volunteers, & Contestants

Queen Halloween Costume Contest
Parade of Costumes Across Stage
Sign Up & Line Up Beginning at 8:00 pm
(Behind the Main Stage at Market & Noe)

Gay community gives its Cable Car Awards

**AIDS activists,
entertainers,
athletes honored**

By Marsha Ginsburg
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

The head of an organization that provides holiday gifts to HIV-infected patients and a longtime activist in gay sports and the community have been honored in the gay community's Cable Car Awards and Show.

Bobby Docca of the "Godfather Fund" and Rose Mary Mitchell, active in the Gay Games and on the board of the Arcadia Bodybuilding Association, won Outstanding Contribution awards Saturday night during a ceremony that recognizes San Francisco's preeminent gay activists.

The Bob Cramer Award for Excellence, named after the barber who began the awards 18 years ago so the gay community could "rec-

ognize its own," went to five local lesbian and gay performing arts groups: the Jon Sims Center for the Performing Arts, the Lesbian/Gay Chorus of S.F., the San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus, Theatre Rhinoceros and Voices: Bay Area Lesbian Choral Ensemble. Each group received a \$500 check.

Wayne Friday, columnist for the Bay Area Reporter, was named to the Hall of Honor and comedian Marga Gomez was named Entertainer of the Year at the show, where 300 people paid from \$15 to \$50 for a ticket.

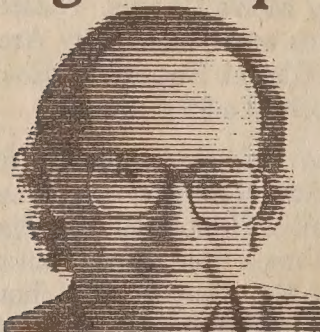
The Grand Hyatt Hotel was named for "outstanding contribution by a business," after numerous donations of meeting rooms and luncheons for gay gatherings.

The Harvey Milk Community Service Award went to Barbara Cameron of the Community United Against Violence and Danny Williams, a popular comedian.

The Dorothy Langston Human Rights Award went to Gail Wilson of the swing era group City Swing with Gail Wilson.

BILL MANDEL

Upholding the right of privacy



THE EDDIE DeBartolo case makes me proud to be an American. You've got to salute a system of justice that bends so far over backward to protect innocent people against unjust persecution and

reckless accusations by the powerful.

Did you know that the 24-year-old cocktail waitress who accused 49ers owner DeBartolo of sexual assault is the sister of a San Mateo County deputy sheriff? Or that her dad also worked in law enforcement?

There are people who'll tell you cops protect cops, that it's impossible to beat a rap cooked up by two generations of police officers, but private citizen DeBartolo's rights were stalwartly protected by the San Mateo County DA's office.

Reading accounts in the papers, it's easy to see why the San Mateo DA sheltered DeBartolo. Sure, his accuser reportedly ended up with torn panty-

LIVELY ARTS *Peter Stack*

Wes Studi's 'Geronimo' Challenge

The scrappy way "**Geronimo**" is holding on at the box office (\$2.3 million over the weekend, beating even "Addams Family Values") is a testament to the strength of westerns on the big screen, even "revisionist" ones. We note that "Tombstone," with **Kurt Russell** as **Wyatt Earp**, opens Friday.

Wes Studi, the sturdy Native American who plays the title role in "Geronimo," recently spoke to Lively Arts about his part as the great Apache warrior.

"It was an interesting balancing act for me," said Studi, 46, an Oklahoma-born Cherokee. "I found it a challenge portraying a man who was so controversial, even among his own people. I did read Geronimo's writings, and I got a picture of a man who felt really boxed in and paranoid. But he was also pursued by the U.S. Army and Mexican Army and he had a strong sense that his people would never have an opportunity to develop. And he was right about that in so many ways. Not every Apache supported Geronimo; some even hated him.

"As an Indian myself, I felt an obligation to give him dignity, because he did have dignity, even when he was being hunted."

Studi, a horse trainer by profession before he got into the movies by way of "Dances With Wolves" and "The Last of the Mohicans," did all his own riding and stunts in "Geronimo," and it was impressive work.

"Kinda gets to your joints when you have to fall," he said. "But it was a lot of fun, because I'm really at home on a horse. I guess one thing that Geronimo never could foresee was that in the 1990s there are few places for range-riding cowboys and Indians to get good paying work except in show business."

If you're interested in Indian history, "The Ride to Wounded Knee" opens today at the Castro Theater. It's a spirited documentary about the centennial memorial ride in 1990 to Wounded Knee, where 300 Indians were massacred in 1890 after the death of **Sitting Bull** at Standing Rock, N.D.



Wes Studi: Playing Geronimo was a balancing act for the Native American

Symphony B.O. Does It Again

Concertgoers gotta hand it to the San Francisco Symphony box-office staff for service beyond the call — only about 30 people were left in the dark about Sunday's canceled concert by renowned bass **Samuel Ramey**, who bowed out because of the flu.

With the whole Sunday matinee down the drain, the eight box-office workers got to work the minute they heard about Ramey's illness on Saturday, and between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. that day phoned more than 1,000 households. (The recent Symphony labor-related cancellations afforded plenty of practice.)

Result: About 2,000 ticket holders got the word and were saved the trouble of showing up at an empty Davies Symphony Hall.

Ramey, one of the great basses of the opera world, is supposed to return to sing

the postponed concert with the Symphony, but no date has been set.

Bette Midler Preview

Bette Midler put down her hair spray long enough yesterday to tell the world that she's going to put on a "completely different" show on New Year's Eve from the ones she's planning for December 29 and 30. Different songs, different clothes, different start time: 10 p.m. instead of the announced 9 p.m. There are still a few tickets left — most in the \$500 category. The show, featuring a seven-piece band, is a partial benefit for the San Francisco AIDS Foundation.

'Mother Teresa' Redux

The most popular film in the history of the Roxie Cinema was **Ann and Jeanette Petrie's** inspiring 1986 documentary, "**Mother Teresa**." It returns to the Mission District theater on Christmas Day to run through January 30. After "Mother Teresa" departs, the Roxie puts up "Sex and Zen," a grotesque comedy from Hong Kong about a young man who decides to live his sex life to its fullest, and gets a horse's penis as an organ transplant. It sure was a swingin' year, 1993.

Mother Teresa: Her bio film returns to the Roxie, to be followed by 'Sex and Zen'



Geronimo' Is a Wide-Open Western

PETER STACK

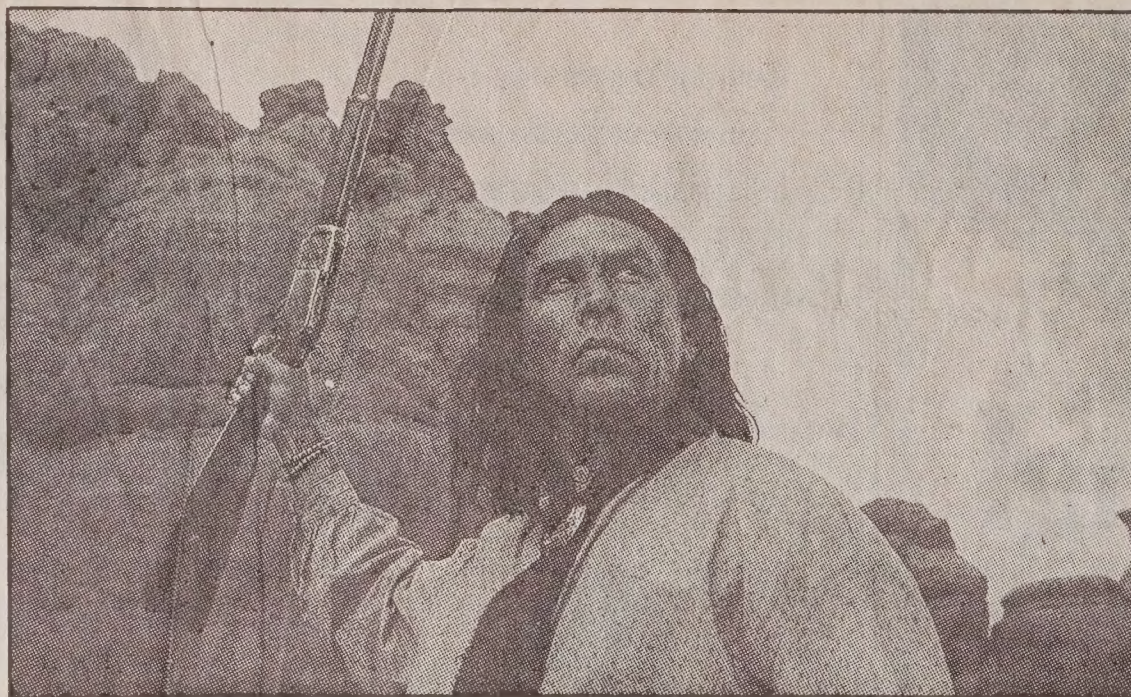
Chronicle Staff Critic

Geronimo is back in the media these days, riding tall. Subject of two movies for TV, the fierce Apache is celebrated on the big screen in "Geronimo: An American Legend," which is, things considered in a revisionist light, the rootin'-tootin' good cowboy, er, story and Indians movie. It opens today at Bay Area theaters, and has the kind of over-the-top, galloping-cayuse punch that lovers of Western films will go for in a heartbeat.

Walter Hill ("48HRS.," "The Long Riders") directed from a screenplay credited to John Milius ("Apocalypse Now") and John Gross ("48HRS."), and it figures that his skill with hard-edged action would carry over the picture. Still, it's rather tame for Hill and gets a mild PG-13 rating. The story of Geronimo almost can't help but be filled with colorful characters, and finding actors for them isn't always easy. Fortunately, this account of the final days of Geronimo's "capture" by the U.S. Army features a fine cast that brings heart and soul to the action — Jason Patric, Gene Hackman, Robert Duvall and Oklahoma Cherokee actor named Wes Studi, who plays Geronimo with a passion. Geronimo was nothing if not passion-

Stunning Locations

Also starring, it must be noted, is the American West — specifically, spectacular locations in the region around Moab, Utah. Geronimo never got anywhere near as close in real life, but as a movie setting the desert formation, valley, sagebrush and quite ambience of the place is perfect. Overall, "Geronimo" is a tale of men and horses and wide open spaces as much as it is a tale of conflicting cultures, human greed and territorial claims.



Oklahoma Cherokee actor Wes Studi plays Apache chief Geronimo in a movie with a revisionist outlook

The film details, in somewhat meandering fashion, events of 1885-86 when Geronimo, a celebrated warrior with a determination to save the fiery Apache spirit, was essentially hunted down by the U.S. Army. More than 5,000 regular troops (and 3,000 Mexican soldiers) were used in the effort to capture the elusive Geronimo, whose visions foretold the doom of his people at the hands of the "white eyes" that took possession of Apache ancestral lands. Geronimo, a member of the Chiricahua Apaches, was not universally loved by his own people — many Apaches thought his belligerence was a hindrance to settling life-death issues that needed ironing out with the whites. The film makes few references to this, and no references to the warrior's infamous drunken binges that further alienated him from everybody.

What we get with "Geronimo," the

film, is very good Walter Hill action long on Western flavor and not especially compelling in the historical sense. Yet Hill seems more interested in delving into the poetry of the situation, even when the poetry isn't there. Patric, who is the focus of the film, for example, plays his part as West Point-bred Cavalry Lieutenant Charles Gatewood, the man assigned to bring in Geronimo, with such soft-spoken formality that you never warm up to him, let alone believe in him. And yet he's the poetic focus, the man who sympathizes with Geronimo's vision, the only white who gains Geronimo's confidence, the Christian who feels a moral obligation to consider Geronimo as a man of faith.

It's almost formula that any movie with Hackman and Duvall is sure to have merit and entertainment value. You're never convinced here that either star busted a gut to play his respective role — Hackman



GERONIMO: AN AMERICAN LEGEND: Historical drama starring Jason Patric, Gene Hackman, Robert Duvall, Wes Studi. Directed by Walter Hill. (PG-13. 110 minutes. At Bay Area theaters.)

as the cavalry commander who puts his career on the line because he wants to be fair to the Indians, Duvall as a tough-as-nails Indian fighter who wants Geronimo so badly he can taste it. But even with roles on the hack side, these guys are terrific.

Studi (who played the scary Magua in "The Last of the Mohicans") is also a good Geronimo, but the way the part is written doesn't necessarily give him much range for exploring the warrior's troubled soul. Mostly, Geronimo is played as a misunderstood action hero, and though Studi gives the part a wiry edge and an almost overly reverent dignity, you don't get the feeling you're looking at a man's complex emotions, yearnings or visions. Curiously, Studi sometimes faintly resembles James Coburn, and he plays Geronimo with a Coburn-like forthrightness, though it must be entirely coincidental. Still, it has the effect of making Studi a presence in the fashion of an old-time Hollywood Western.

Too PC?

Some viewers may argue that "Geronimo," in its efforts to re-examine history, puts an artificial spin on things by making some of the "white eyes" too respectful of the Indians or sanitizing Geronimo, who was certainly one of the most headstrong warriors of all time. But though the story of the seemingly fearless Geronimo's capture is inherently anti-climactic (he lived long afterward and became somewhat of a showman), "Geronimo" is best viewed for what it is — a fairly exciting Western with a '90s way of dealing with history.



Patrick Dempsey and Lisa Bonet: Their pairing is a red herring in 'Bank Robber'

'Bank Robber' Should Get Life

BY PETER STACK

Chronicle Staff Critic

The overpowering feeling you get watching "Bank Robber," billed as a comedy and starring Patrick Dempsey, is one of "let me out of here!" It's a sensation that lasts for almost the entire film in which Dempsey is holed up in a dingy fleabag hotel in Los Angeles after robbing a downtown bank. Claustrophobia sets in. You look for laughs, you look for sex, you look for anything that will get you transported.

"Bank Robber" is a fine example of movie making in the celebrated bad-to-worse genre. It starts out bad when we first meet Dempsey as a guy named Billy who dreams of buying a sailboat and running off to paradise with his girlfriend (Olivia D'Abo). What's bad is that he doesn't seem like a very interesting guy. He decides to rob a bank.

During the heist, Billy makes



BANK ROBBER: Comedy starring Patrick Dempsey, Lisa Bonet, Olivia D'Abo, Judge Reinhold, Forest Whitaker. Directed by Nick Mead. (NC-17, 95 minutes. At the Opera Plaza.)

the mistake of not shooting out all the bank's surveillance cameras. He takes refuge in a nearby hotel, where he tries to lay low for a while, but television news is flashing his picture all over town and everybody recognizes him as the guy who robbed the bank. It's an amusing premise, but caught in the cold grip of the bad-to-worse school of film making, it doesn't stand a chance.

While Billy is interminably holed up, bank executives jigger the figures to make it look like more was stolen than really was — and, of course, they pocket the difference — while two police patrolmen, played by Judge Reinhold

and Forest Whitaker, drive around in their cruiser talking about the seeds of criminality. Nothing is getting funny yet, and the worse is yet to come. These parts for Reinhold and Whitaker are embarrassments.

There is temporary hope in "Bank Robber" when Lisa Bonet shows up as a golden-hearted hooker hired by Dempsey for his amusement. Some of what we are talking about here has resulted in an NC-17 rating with a Bonet angle to it.

Even Bonet can't keep worse from coming. We can't seem to get out of the hotel room. Dempsey, who was pretty good in "In the Mood" and "Run," may still be a good actor, but he can't act his way out of this ugly hotel room.

"Bank Robber" was written and directed by Nick Mead. He reportedly is holed up writing another comedy that goes from bad to good, a ray of hope.

in addressing environmental justice through Title VI (which prohibits use of federal funds in ways that have racially discriminatory effect) and through the National Environmental Policy Act.

Environmental justice activists hardly expect the Executive Order to be a silver bullet that will fix the problems of environmental racism and unequal protection overnight. Nevertheless, the Order is important because it is a concrete sign that the administration has heard what many activists have been saying all along: environmental justice must become a priority at the highest levels of government. Moreover, the Order could serve as an opening for activists to work directly with federal agencies in shaping their policies. The agencies have one year to develop implementation plans for the Order. To be effective, these plans must be developed in consultation with the environmental justice groups that served as the catalysts for getting this issue on the agenda. The environmental justice community needs to become a partner—not a junior or silent partner, but a full partner—in the process.

Some of the groundwork for such a partnership was laid at a February

Frontline viewpoint: Dana Alston

Program Officer, Public Welfare Foundation



The environmental justice movement does not come from the same mold as the traditional environmental movement. The environmental justice movement is set apart by endemic introspection. Most social movements first organize around a single issue, gaining power by building bridges and making coalitions. The environmental justice movement defines its issues through the very process of bringing people together. Many of the organizations in the movement were built around community issues and social and racial justice. The environment only emerged as an critical issue for us through the process of grassroots organizing.

In this nation and in the world, those in power stay there by dividing us from one another: rich from poor, white from black, black from yellow, men from women, and on and on. We must understand how these boundaries affect our movement from within. This is extremely hard work, and just as important for us as everything else we are fighting for. A good portion of the time spent at the People of Color Environmental Summit in 1991 was devoted to analyzing who we were, and strategizing toward building strong democratic organizations.

The traditional environmental movement has failed to bring about broad societal change because it has only mobilized one segment of that society—the white middle-class. The only way for the environmental movement to achieve its goals is to restructure society, and the only way to do that is to overcome the societal barriers within the movement. We must build our organizations on democratic practice and equity in participation across the lines of race, gender, culture, and class.

symposium on environmental justice and health research needs, which was co-sponsored by half-a-dozen federal agencies; grassroots, civil rights, and environmental justice leaders; and health professionals, research scientists, and academics. As a joint effort between federal agencies and activists, the symposium is something of a landmark. Charles Lee believes that it represented a turning point in the quest for “an open process that allows the victims of toxic contamination to function with integrity in planning and decision-making.”

If Lee is right,

then the symposium and the Executive Order point to a future in which environmental justice activists and environmentally burdened communities will be increasingly potent forces influencing federal policy. But endangered communities are not waiting for the government or the polluting industries to get their acts together. Hazel Johnson, of Chicago's Southside, observes, “It seems like our own government, which is supposed to represent the people's interests, represents the polluters—who usually do not comply with laws that regulate them.” Johnson and many others are already on the front lines, working for vigorous enforcement of existing environmental, public health, housing, and civil rights laws where they live. Their grassroots activism gave birth to the environmental justice movement, and it will be the movement's core and its strength in the future. •



A march for workers' rights, organized by the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice—one of several regional environmental justice networks being built across the country.

Southwest Organizing Project

War stories

Environmental justice in Indian Country

by Gail Small

My tribe, the Northern Cheyenne, lives on 500,000 acres of beautiful ponderosa pine country in southeastern Montana. Our reservation has tremendous cultural significance for us. Two years after the Cheyenne defeated Custer at the Battle of Little Bighorn, they were taken as prisoners of war in reprisal, and marched to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma. Tribal oral tradition states that the Cheyenne were quickly dying there of malaria and other diseases, and agreed that they would rather die fighting to return to their beloved north-land than die of the white man's diseases, as his prisoners.

The Cheyenne told the U.S. government agent that they were leaving for their homeland, and asked him to let them get a short distance from the fort before bloodying the ground. Only a few hundred Cheyenne survived this walk north. Our reservation thus represents the blood and

tears of our grandparents, who willingly gave their lives so that we might live here.

The Cheyenne now find our reservation being surrounded by the largest coal stripmines in this country, and the threat that the mines will encroach on our own land is ever-present. I have been involved in the fight to protect our reservation and southeastern Montana from coal mining since the 1970s, when I was in high school. It was then that the

us. I was one of several young Cheyenne sent by the tribe to investigate coal mines in Navaho country and Wyoming; at one point, twenty of us had our picture taken standing inside a huge coal shovel, to demonstrate the size of the industrial operation that coal mining would bring to our land. After college, I served on the tribal committee charged with voiding the leases—the only member with a college degree. We were fortunate to find a

capable young attorney with a passion for Indians and for justice, but it took almost fifteen years of anxiety and sacrifices by the people before the Northern Cheyenne convinced Congress to void the coal leases.

Today, however, Cheyenne coal has become still more valuable. There are no coal mines on my reservation yet, and no coal leases have been signed. But every year, the tribe debates again

whether we can afford to continue refusing the offers of the coal companies. And every year the mines on nearby land come closer. Current plans call for opening up the Powder River Country (our best hunting grounds) by building a railroad directly along the Tongue River (our major water source). Our most traditional village, the Birney community, is directly across the river from



A railroad and five coal mines have been proposed for pristine wilderness near the Tongue River (above), the southern border of the Northern Cheyenne reservation.

John Warner

Cheyenne learned the horrifying news that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had leased over half our reservation for stripmining, at the paltry rate of 17 cents per ton, with no environmental safeguards included in the leases.

Every resource of our small tribe was committed to the battle against those leases. The enormity of our situation frightened and angered

Gail Small, J.D., is the executive director of Native Action (a non-profit based in Lame Deer, Montana) and a Rockefeller Fellow at the University of Colorado.



Mississippi Choctaw protest a proposal to locate a hazardous waste facility near their land.

Barbara R. Rascher

the site of the proposed railroad and the five new coal mines.

The Northern Cheyenne are not the only Indians who face such problems. Tribes across the country find their lands aggressively sought after for their energy resources and as dumping grounds for America's waste. Indian tribes own over a third of the low-sulfur coal west of the Mississippi, as much as half of the privately owned uranium in the country, and sizable reserves of oil, natural gas, and oil shale. The instability and depletion of world energy supplies—along with the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments, which favor low-sulfur coal—have increased the pressure for these reserves. Promises of overnight wealth to impoverished tribes serve to divide and conquer the people, as federal agencies, energy corporations, and private speculators seek to dump nuclear waste or get rich off Indian land.

By necessity, then, Indian tribes are major players in the environmental justice movement. Their legal situation, however, is unique. It derives from their status as the indigenous peoples and the original landlords of this country.

Indian reservations represent an American legal quid pro quo: in return

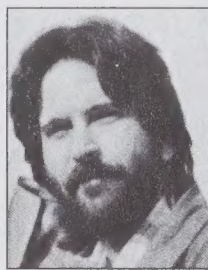
for relinquishing claim to thousands of acres of their aboriginal lands, the tribes reserved for themselves homelands and various other rights in the treaties they negotiated with the United States. The premise of the Reserved Rights Doctrine is that the treaties

were not a grant of rights to the Indians, but rather a reservation of rights they already possessed. Many past judicial decisions have complicated what is now known as tribal sovereignty, but the tribal right of self-government has been repeatedly affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court, and the tribes' jurisdiction over their homelands remains substantially intact.

Another factor complicating tribal sovereignty is the unique trust relationship between the federal government, specifically Congress, and the Indian tribes. The federal government, as trustee, asserts plenary power over Indian tribes (under the legal rhetoric that we need protecting). In general, federal laws apply on reservations, although tribal governments have the inherent right to establish tribal environmental laws that are stronger than the federal statutes. Because the trust relationship preempts jurisdiction by the states, it has served to safeguard Indian rights and resources and preserve Indian self-government. The trust relationship also requires that any

Frontline viewpoint: Lance Hughes

Director, Native Americans for a Clean Environment



Communities that have been fighting for their lives and land for decades constitute the soul of the environmental justice movement. We must not allow Washington politics to define our agenda. Most of us who consider ourselves members of the movement live in besieged communities. We work day and night against enormous odds to resolve problems created by an unspoken national policy of poisoning the least empowered of our society—who, by no coincidence, are usually people of color and what remains of our tribal nations.

I welcomed the advent of the environmental justice movement. Like so many other groups, NACE stretches its time and resources even further to speed the movement's evolution. We do this because the movement establishes a humane framework, complete with the important Principles that were painstakingly created during the National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, through which we can work toward a much broader and stronger vision of equitable protection from environmental destruction.

Regardless of the prevalent sincerity and honesty of the movement, there will always be individuals who will use it as a political springboard. Vigilance and full participation of affected communities are necessary to keep the narrow representation of self-appointed leaders from derailing our important effort.

action by the federal government, or its agencies, affecting Indian property or rights be consistent with the most exacting fiduciary standards.

As self-governing entities, tribes have the legal authority for environmental regulation and enforcement of tribal environmental laws; they also have the proprietary and police powers for environmental protection. Why, then, is it so difficult for Indian tribes to protect their environments? One reason is that, as the Northern Cheyenne found when we fought the coal leases in court during the 1970s and 1980s, it is extremely difficult for Indian tribes to sue our federal trustee for breach of trust.

Another reason, which cannot be underestimated, is that no significant federal assistance has ever been provided to develop the tribal government infrastructure necessary for environmental protection. In fact, fiduciary standards or no, only a dime of every dollar appropriated by Congress for Indians ever reaches the reservations. Most of the monies are eaten by the massive bureaucracy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. (And yet, when it is a question of the study and development of coal mines, uranium mines, and nuclear waste dumps on reservations, federal funds always appear.)

My tribe experienced this problem in 1977, when, seeing the coal mines growing larger and coming closer, our tribal leaders decided to protect our air quality. They petitioned the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for the right to designate our air quality as Class I, among the cleanest in the country, and to apply the most stringent air-quality standards. The Northern Cheyenne tribe was the first government entity to take this step—but we had to lead the EPA by the hand for more than ten years before it acknowledged that we were a government, with the right to funding and enforcement authority under the Clean Air Act. Almost twenty

years later, the Northern Cheyenne are still fighting this battle. We were eventually forced to settle with the coal companies in a lawsuit we had brought over some nearby power plants, simply to get the funds to establish air quality monitoring stations on the reservation.

As tribes begin to draft and enact their own environmental laws, the need for government infrastructure is becoming more desperate. Tribal environmental protection agencies must be adequately funded



Native Americans are under increasing pressure to open their reservations to coal mining. The Black Mesa strip-mine, above, is on Hopi and Navaho land.

Dan Budnik

and staffed to implement these laws, tribal courts to enforce them. And the monies should go directly to the tribes, not to the various intermediary organizations that claim to provide technical assistance.

This means that it is not enough for our federal trustee simply to amend environmental laws by acknowledging tribal governments for "substantially the same treatment as a state," a step that is now becoming more common. Without adequate funding, the laws will remain law on paper only. At a series of Tribal Issues Workgroups held by EPA's Office of Environmental Equity throughout 1993, tribal delegates informed EPA that it has never fully implemented either the spirit or the letter of the law. Indeed, some tribes declared the phrase "treatment as a

state" offensive, considering the long-standing funding inequities.

The funding question is made still more urgent by the general poverty of the tribes. The Northern Cheyenne have refused extravagant offers from the coal companies, while directing every resource we have to the legal battles against coal mining on nearby land. The people have foregone indoor plumbing, roads, and schools for the environmental integrity of this region. It is no small sacrifice. The elderly man who lives next door to my office must use an outhouse, and as I write it is 20 degrees below zero.

And our tribe is now fighting the coal boom towns in order to secure a high school of our own for our 400 high-school-aged students, but the boom towns have far more money.

Many younger Cheyenne regard EPA's failure to fund tribal environmental protection as institutional racism. We have also seen this attitude in the white environmental organizations, which failed to respond to our calls for help in fighting mining in the region—even though the mines are destroying pristine wilderness on federal lands. It was my idea to make these requests, and when they went

unanswered, our Tribal President told me that I was young and naïve, and that I had to learn to strategize under the assumption that we have few allies. And indeed, it has been my experience that Americans would rather fight for the rainforest than join the battle being waged in their own backyards.

Perhaps this is true partly because opposing world views separate our understanding of the environment from that of other Americans. Indians believe in the spiritual nature of the environment, something that cannot be quantified and cannot be preserved through "mitigation" of environmentally harmful development. As an elder of my tribe has said, "There is no word in our language for mitigation. We cannot even understand the concept."

The federal agencies charged with

helping us protect our environment cannot do so unless they understand this interdependence of environment, culture, and religion in the tribal way of life. When I worked as a tribal sociologist some years ago, I once took a draft tribal water code to the five villages of my reservation for public input. I found that protection of the water spirits was a pre-eminent concern throughout the reservation, and that the spirits varied depending on whether the water source was a river, lake, or spring. I reported back to the attorneys who had been contracted by the U.S. government to draw up the code, and they laughed at my findings.

But it was no laughing matter a few years later, when an elderly Cheyenne man with a rifle held off an ARCO drilling team that had planned to lay lines of dynamite across his spring—an archaic practice no longer used in most drilling operations outside Indian reservations. “Today is a good day to die,” he said, holding his old hunting rifle before him. I represented him in tribal court the next morning, seeking a restraining order against ARCO. And I cried with him as he told me how the water spirits sometimes came out and danced at this spring.

Eventually, we saved the spring. But whenever the destructive forces threatening Indian reservations prevail, the real loser is the American public; for what is at stake is the last remaining indigenous knowledge of the spiritual and curative powers of this country’s environment. And as I write, the coal fight is beginning again on my reservation, as it has every year for the past three decades. Another coal contract is before the Council, the coal company is promising to make every Cheyenne a millionaire, and some are arguing that we must cut off the toe to save the body—that we should lease a small part of the reservation, because we need the white man’s money in order to give our children a way out of poverty.

Like many Cheyenne, I feel as if I have already lived a lifetime fighting stripmining. We live with fear, anger, and urgency. And we long for a better life for our tribe. •

Rocky roads to consensus

Traditional environmentalism meets environmental justice

by David Hahn-Baker

During my work with traditional environmental organizations as they confront the issues of environmental justice, I am sometimes reminded of Elizabeth Kubler-Ross’s five stages of dying: denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance. As a consultant, I have listened as clients of mine have proceeded through the “some of my best friends...” speeches, the gnashing of teeth, the offers of small grants with no sharing of power, and the throwing up of hands in frustration. Yet I have also seen these same people come to acknowledge past and present failings, and, out of acceptance, achieve some progress.

I have a strong personal interest in seeing these two movements come together. I consider myself a traditional environmentalist, finding inspiration in the works of writers from Rachel Carson to Edward Abbey. I have worked for the National Wildlife Federation (NWF), Greenpeace, and a host of other national groups. I have been known to enter “environmentalist” on forms that ask for religious affiliation. But because of my efforts against environmental racism in my hometown of Buffalo, my

work under the guidance of regional activists of color, and my race (African American), I also consider myself an environmental justice activist.

Over the past five years, I have worked as a consultant and volunteer with national, regional, and local organizations. Some of these groups are predominantly of color and some are predominantly white. During this period, environmental justice activists and traditional environmentalists have been moving through various stages of confrontation and controversy on the one hand, cooperation and consensus on the other. What started the process was a letter sent in February 1990—the letter, as it became known at the time—by several organizations of color to eight of the most

prominent national environmental groups. When an article about the letter appeared in *The New York Times*, it ran under the headline “Environmental Groups Told They Are Racist in Hiring.”

The letter was a shot heard round the environmental movement. It accused the traditional organizations not only of lack of diversity in their staffs, but also of isolation from communities of color and of the poor, who are the chief victims of pollution. The reactions from traditional environmentalists were mixed. None denied the facts of the case—that our movement, which is based on a belief in biological diversity, had little or no cultural diversity in its

“Environmental Groups Told They Are Racist in Hiring,” reported *The New York Times* in 1990.

David Hahn-Baker, President of Inside/Out Political Consultants, is a member of NRDC’s Board of Trustees.

ranks. However, some denied that the lack of diversity in hiring and the lack of interaction with people of color was based in any racism.

From my standpoint, the absence of past dialogue between organizations of people of color and traditional environmental organizations has made communication about the already difficult issue of racism even more difficult. Traditional environmentalists sometimes perceive accusations of lack of diversity, lack of inclusiveness, and the *institutional* racism that these represent as accusations of *personal* racism. On the other hand, people of color sometimes interpret denials of personal racism as denials of any failing of diversity or inclusiveness, or as denials of institutional racism.

I can testify that I have experienced much less personal racism from environmentalists than in so-

ciety at large or in other predominantly white milieus, such as universities. However, institutional racism plays some role in housing, health care, education—indeed, in all sectors of society. There is no rea-

nizations that received the letter have begun the process of building relationships with organizations of people of color, based on mutual respect and equity. Greenpeace increased its collaborations with

Confrontation and controversy are invaluable, for the simple reason that we humans are not perfect.

son to assume that environmental institutions are somehow immune from the tendency to hire those who are similar to us or the tendency to discount values we do not share or understand. These and other factors lead to stereotyping and prejudging; and these practices, in turn, are the basis of racism.

Some of the environmental orga-

communities of color. NRDC hired an Environmental Justice Director who is an African American experienced in national and community-level environmental justice work. It is also worth noting that some groups had taken some action even earlier: in 1979 the Sierra Club and the National Urban League held a joint conference on cities; in 1989 NWF asked me to help develop programs to increase its staff diversity and address the impact of pollution on people of color. Yet it was not until the letter triggered significant controversy that significant advances were made.

Frontline viewpoint: Peggy Shepard

Co-Founder, West Harlem Environmental Action



Those of us who make our homes in cities must recognize that the debate over policy is a debate over resources, power, and strategy.

To achieve self-determination and participation in environmental decision-making, environmental justice activists must begin to build our own institutions and to build the capacity of communities to address their own priorities. But predictably, major funding institutions often choose to grant funds to organizations of color only if those organizations confine their activities to outreach and education. They resist funding research and capacity-building because so many mainstream organizations depend on funds to study and provide technical assistance to communities of color. To fund our community-based organizations to do the same work is a radical act of income redistribution.

Now that a new funding category for environmental justice activities has been established by some grantmakers, underfunded community-based groups submit proposals for these small grants only to find that mainstream and non-community-based organizations—some of which still dispute the existence of environmental racism, and most of which first heard of environmental justice last year—have applied as well. We must take seriously the arrogance, insensitivity, and lack of ethics of these allegedly politically progressive organizations.

If communities of color can establish partnerships with community-based institutions and forge coalitions with ethical mainstream environmental organizations and non-profits, we can all begin a credible effort to improve the quality of life in our urban environment.

Disturbing as it was for the national groups to find their lack of staff diversity discussed in *The New York Times*, difficult as the dialogue has been for all parties, the episode shows how confrontation can bring new vitality to a movement. In my experience, confrontation and controversy are invaluable, for the simple reason that we humans are not perfect. Particularly in those cases that involve inequality in power and resources, confrontation is a way of asking questions about important issues. The controversy that evolves from confrontation is a discussion of the differences in our views of the world, especially our views of its imperfections. And controversy is also the beginning of the journey to remedy the imperfections. In the aftermath of the letter, some traditional environmentalists have committed to making that journey with environmental justice activists.

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